NATIONAL REVIEW

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October 20, 1956

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

Should Conservatives Vote for Eisenhower-Nixon?

Yes — JAMES BURNHAM

No — WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Reuther Schemes for Power

L. BRENT BOZELL

Articles and Reviews by · · · · · · WILLMOORE KENDALL

F. A. VOIGT · E. MERRILL ROOT · FRANK S. MEYER

RUSSELL KIRK · SAM M. JONES · BEN RAY REDMAN

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For the Record

Governor J. Bracken Lee, defeated in the Republican gubernatorial primary when several thousand Democrats crossed party lines to vote against him, has secured enough signatures to get his name on the Utah ballot.

President Eisenhower is less popular with farmers than he was four years ago, but he still ranks ahead of Adlai Stevenson, according to the Doane Agricultural Service. Among farmers polled, 56.6 per cent were for Eisenhower and 34.4 for Stevenson. (1952 figures: Ike, 72.1 per cent; Adlai, 20.2).... The Gallup Poll says the President also has more than half the egghead vote in the country, despite popular belief to the contrary.

Walter Reuther's statisticians say the Big Three can absorb the new hike in steel prices and the new wage scale for auto workers and still make a "high" profit without increasing automobile prices.... By the end of the year there will be 65.2 million cars and trucks registered in the U.S.... Employment, up now from midsummer levels, will continue to rise through the Christmas season, says the Labor Department .... Also up (for the eighth month in a row) are the number of civilians on the federal payroll.

The Communist Party lost 200 seats in the Finnish municipal elections last week, most of them in one-time Communist strongholds in Northern and Eastern Finland.... Responsible circles in France are said to be promoting a North African Federation of Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria with Mohammed V, the Moroccan Sultan, as Head of State. Proponents believe the federation would be economically viable in a way the regions separately are not, and that politically it would tend to develop a counterweight to Egypt.

India is finding it hard to interest American oil men in exploiting her oil reserves, despite a government guarantee against any expropriation in the oil industry for at least twenty years.... Communist China Deputy Premier and Marshal Chen Yi (whose troops are already in North Korea, Tibet and Northeast Burma, and probably in Northern Vietnam) said the other day that Red China "will never launch aggression against others or interfere in the internal affairs of other countries."

The only reports on the Poznan trials to be published in East Germany and other satellite countries have been considerably censored: they carry the prosecution's case, but none of the defendants' testimony.

Important Court Rulings: The Federal Court of Appeals found the Federal Power Commission was legally justified in authorizing a private power company to build three hydroelectric dams in Hell's Canyon, along the Snake River.... The U.S. Court of Appeals ruled (2-1) that the National Labor Relations Board cannot forbid an employer to deal with a union whose officials refuse to file non-Communist oaths. The Court, however, said it was within the NLRB's rights to deny its services to such a union.... The Tennessee Supreme Court ruled that that state's existing school segregation laws are unenforceable.

The twenty-year-old American Labor Party, whose only successful candidate was the late Vito Marcantonio, announced its dissolution last week.... New York's Communist Jefferson School of Social Science (which had between 3,000 and 4,000 students in its heyday in the late forties) had fewer than 400 enrolled students when it began its fall term last week.

The Long Island Federation of Women's Clubs (35,000 strong) is demanding a popular referendum on the artificial fluoridation of New York City's water supply on the grounds that "it is preferable to err on the side of caution."

Among the American manners and customs which the Soviet Press chose to deplore last week was "jump from side to side"—which, when translated back into English means, "rock 'n roll."

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

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The WEEK

● The Gallup Poll indicates that President Eisenhower will get more union votes in November than he did in 1952, when an estimated 39 per cent of "union member families" voted for him. Gallup sees 43 per cent of organized labor behind the Republican Presidential ticket—and this in spite of Big Labor's official and strenuous support of Mr. Stevenson. We could have here a healthy reaction by rank-and-file union members to the presumptive bullying of the bosses. On the other hand, why shouldn't labor vote for Eisenhower? On grounds of self-interest? The Republicans—under whom labor has prospered for four years—promise Taft-Hartley revision, unemployment benefit increases, higher minimum wages, multifarious benevolences. Could labor really expect more, even from the Democrats? Why change horses in the middle of this dream?

● Last week we asked why Senator Knowland had not figured more prominently in the campaign. We are deluged with communications calling to our attention his vigorous efforts in behalf of state candidates here and there. We did not intend to belittle his role in the individual states. We were, in effect, suggesting that the Republican Party sponsor one or two televised appearances, coast to coast, in which, as the commonly acknowledged leader of the conservative wing of the party, Senator Knowland might have the opportunity to look us skeptics in the face and convince us that, at heart, Dwight Eisenhower is a black, lovable reactionary.

● The *New York Times* wondered out loud last week about Tito's flight to Russia with Khrushchev. ". . . How are we to explain the mystery of Tito and Khrushchev hobnobbing and visiting each other like bosom friends?" Well, now, let's see. Hmm. Er . . . Well, er . . . "Some observers," the *Times* jumps in, "will argue that Tito and Khrushchev are Communists and are now revealing their true colors." But that explanation is just plain silly—it may be "persuasive . . . superficially, [but] it would be incautious to accept it without considering the rather contrary evidence . . ." There *must* be another reason. We must not jump to the conclusion that Khrushchev and Tito are Communists. That would be McCarthyism. So let's see, now. Hmmm. Hmmmm.

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● Recent developments in Bolivia fall neatly into the pattern sketched in Mr. Kendall's article two weeks ago. The MNR government, having barely contained a revolutionary uprising by the urban masses of La Paz, has clamped down on the opposition. But the queues in front of the city's shops get longer and longer, the dollar fetches 11,000 *pesos bolivianos* as against 9,500 three weeks ago, and there is reason to believe that many who participated in the recent riots were nominal government supporters. In a word: no bloodbath yet, but increasing indications that the makings for one are there; no solution in sight for Bolivia's problems, except more American aid; and the usual blackmail argument, which never fails to land them in Washington, for such aid: "The alternative [to our government]," President Siles Zuazo insists, "is either an inept rightist dictatorship or a chaotic regime headed by Trotsky or Stalinist Communists."

● Cards were mailed out to all members of Carpenters' Union 226 in Oregon inviting them to attend a "routine business meeting" or to pay a fine. One man who found that an anti-Republican speech by Representative Edith Green came under the heading of "routine business" has publicly repudiated the "dictatorial policies" of "union bossism." It is good to know that a disciplined and adjusted citizen will, on occasion, find a last straw in organized coercion.

● Jean Callender is twelve years old, lives in Kingston, Surrey, England, and played hookey from school for three straight weeks. Casting about for an appropriate punishment for so horrible a crime, and frustrated, no doubt, by the prescription of the cat-o'-nine, the magistrates of a British juvenile court sent Jean packing to a remand home, where she spent day after day scrubbing and polishing floors. She was very homesick for her widowed mother, and wrote her every day; twenty letters in all. But the devoted servants of the Queen who administer the home for criminals succeeded in intercepting all but one of the letters, thus keeping Jean, for all intents and purposes, incommunicado. But the mother finally got some sentimentalist interested in her daughter's case and before long Lord Chief Justice Goddard himself reached down and set aside the verdict. Jean was let go, is back home and, presumably, at school. No doubt about it, the British are getting soft.

● There are more ways to answer a threat than by spraying it with cream—as witness what the Canadian factory worker Pavlo Hlushanyza did when Soviet redefectors told him his fifteen-year-old daughter would suffer unless he did their bidding. Harm her, he replied to them, and I will literally have it out of the hide of the Soviet Embassy Counselor in Canada, whoever he happens to be at that moment. The formula is, to be sure, likely to prove useful only to men of courage and determination, and thus lacks relevance in the current Suez controversy.

● Ira H. Latimer was trained as a lawyer, served for a number of years as a Communist, left the Party, and now seeks admission to the Illinois bar. That, Mr. Latimer is finding, is not so easy. An alliance of Communists and bureaucrats is attempting to frustrate his reintegration. He appears to be up against powerful forces that are using strange methods against him. Shortly, we shall publish an account of the case, by Mr. Frank Hughes of the *Chicago Tribune*.

● As we bored our way through the *Daily Worker* recently, our eye was caught by an arresting advertisement by the Communist Jefferson School of Social Science. "To speak your piece is fashionable these days," it informed us, "but the trick is *to know what you are talking about.*" Among the conversational clarifiers offered are: 1) Dialectical and Historical Materialism; 2) Value and Surplus Value; 3) The Soviet Union Today; 4) Guitar Playing. Thus the new idiom of Communist proselyting. Man, that historically inevitable, dialectically cool JS-of-SS, it's the greatest!

The Ghosts Are Restless

Twenty years ago Communism seemed to reach an ultimate level of the macabre in the mad Purge Trials, with their self-destroying confessions of impossible deeds, and their aftermath of rubber-soled executions in the cellars of the Lubianka. The Trials, however, sink back to the banal in the wild light of the unwinding process now going on in Eastern Europe.

Seven years ago in Hungary four Communist leaders were put to death and buried in dishonored ground, as "bourgeois nationalists," Titoists and agents of U.S. intelligence: the then Foreign Minister, Laszlo Rajk, along with General Georgy Palffy, Dr. Tibor Szoeny and Andras Szalai. Last week the rotted corpses of these four men were exhumed, exposed on great biers mounted in the center of Budapest, and made ready for reburial in a new cemetery designed as a national pantheon.

The godless anti-religion of Communism is driven to complete the symbolic cycle of its black inversion of true religion. To its myriad rites of crucifixion, it now adds a blasphemous resurrection.

On a single day 200,000 Hungarians walked past these biers—not by command in the usual Communist mode, but spontaneously, by individuals and

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family groups. They were silent, but what was in their hearts? Under totalitarian rule, where so little can be uttered, we must look deep. At the literal level the whole issue was from the mass point of view a senseless dispute between rival sets of jailers. For all the people knew, the exhuming was only an excuse for a new round of killings (beginning with Matyas Rakosi, perhaps); with another shift in political line next year, the four corpses might be thrown in a lime pit.

But surely those vast throngs were telling each other and us that it is their buried freedom that they mourn for, and its future resurrection for which they hope and wait.

On Desert Air

At Yale last week, speaking to his very own, Adlai Stevenson failed. The students heckled him, and the townspeople didn't know what he was talking about. The *Yale Daily News* condescendingly wrote off the talk as "Political Science 11b with a moral."

Yet lurking in the banality of the address was a near-heroic confession of doubt, and confusion, the mere expression of which did Stevenson honor.

"This is the point in the campaign," he said, "when it seems worth recalling the ground rules of political responsibility—and I mean that in terms of self-reminder as much as criticism, because I don't consider myself blameless . . . Perhaps there is too much of the commonplace in the old injunction that victory is after all not an end in itself. Yet I often think that the single greatest difficulty about running for responsible public office is how you can win without, in the process, proving yourself unworthy of winning."

Who Errs?

Two sets of predictions on the election outcome have come into gross conflict.

Most of the weighted polls, in particular the Gallup Poll, are showing President Eisenhower running as far ahead of Adlai Stevenson as in 1952. A recent Gallup report gives 56 per cent to 44 per cent, against 55.4 per cent for Eisenhower four years ago. Even the breakdowns into subgroups give the same estimate. Most surprisingly, Eisenhower is shown ahead of Stevenson, and his own 1952 record, in the youngest (21-29 years) voter age group. This estimate of the polls seems in accord with the enormous crowds, larger even than in 1952, that the President draws on every trip.

At the same time, nearly every columnist and editorial writer, Republican as well as Democrat, conservative and Liberal, has written during the last couple of weeks that Stevenson is gaining rapidly, that the race is neck and neck, and that the President is in danger of losing.

One of two explanations presumably must apply. The polls may be way out of line, not just by the small percentage that is within the accepted limits of error, but by a margin comparable to the *Literary Digest* poll in the 1936 fiasco that put it out of business for good. Either this, or the journalists are allowing their feelings to take precedence over their observations: the Stevenson supporters anxious to cheer on their man, the Republicans trying to shake their party out of complacency, and both aiming to turn a rather dismal election campaign into a semblance of drama.

Or, of course, both the polls and the journalism might be a lot of nonsense.

Communist Campaign Tactics

The Communist Party of the United States, racing hell-bent to the Right, has lapped a good many of its fellow travelers, who are still skidding around the old Left turn. Some of the results are amusing. In 1952 the Party ran Vincent Hallinan as candidate for President under the label of the Progressive Party, which the Communists were then using as an electoral front. Now Hallinan has denounced his former ringmasters for opportunist illusions in going along with labor support of the Democrats, and has declared for the Trotskyite candidate, Farrell Dobbs.

Also out in a huff for Dobbs is Clifford T. McAvoy, a New York fellow traveler of thirty years standing, whom the Party (until it switched to Wagner) ran for Mayor on the 1954 American Labor Party ticket.

But the Communists have no time for these castoffs. They are out, arm-in-arm with "labor, the farmers, small business and the Negro people," beating the drums for "the defeat of the Cadillac cabinet."

This does not mean that the Communists have become Democrats or that Democrats are Communists. The Communists remain what they have been: agents of Moscow, revolutionary conspirators, nine-tenths of whose significant activity is below the public surface. For Communists, an election is a minor and rather farcical episode. "All serious political questions are decided, in the last analysis, by civil war," is the Leninist doctrine. But election periods do open up ground for organizational maneuver, and provide audiences easier to reach with political ideas.

Under the present international line, the Communists are not putting up candidates on their own or third-party tickets. They concentrate their electoral activities on the Democratic Party and those organizations that are supporting the Democratic candidates.

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The Communists try to push these organizations, as well as the Democratic Party itself, in the ideological direction set by Communist policy, and to infiltrate their ranks under the cover of the election campaign.

This Democratic concentration does not exclude operations oriented on the Republican Party wherever an infiltration opening can be found within Republican lines, or where there is a local Democratic "reactionary" to be defeated. There is no reason for Republicans to sit back under the complacent illusion that their party is outside the Communist range.

For the Communists the issue is not whether Stevenson is preferable to Eisenhower. They despise both men as individuals, and consider both parties to be mere variant instruments of capitalist class rule, both destined to be utterly destroyed in the course of the revolution. They have, meanwhile, stated their considerable satisfaction with the foreign policy views of Eisenhower and Stevenson alike. (That is, they judge that neither proposes any serious threat or obstacle to the advance of the Soviet Empire.) But from a present tactical standpoint, the Democratic Party—because of some of its ideological tendencies and part of its social composition—on the whole offers the Communists the happier hunting ground.

You Can Count on Us, Adlai

We read an AP story to the effect that a miniature empty wallet may replace the wornout shoe as the badge of Adlai Stevenson. Here is how it happened.

A couple of weeks ago, after a hard day on the hustings, in and around Pittsburgh, Adlai Stevenson, Clayton Fritchey and William Blair went to the airport to board a Capital Airlines flight to New York, got their tickets, reached for their wallets—and, lo and behold, found that even after pooling their resources, they were short by $72 the price of three one-way tickets. Somehow, they parlayed their way on the plane—but evidently on a COD basis, because the minute they get off the plane, they addressed themselves to the problem of raising $72. Luck was with them, for they were greeted by a group of admirers, about one hundred strong. Mr. Stevenson explained the dilemma, and the hat was passed. By the time it got to the thirtieth admirer, the whole amount had been subscribed and was duly turned over to Capital Airlines.

Now, it seems to us that the Democratic Party is treating Mr. Stevenson rather shoddily. Its apparent refusal to issue an Air Travel Credit Card to Mr. Stevenson is nothing short of insulting. It reflects on Mr. Stevenson's credit. We have our differences with Stevenson, all right, but he is a subscriber to NATIONAL REVIEW, has been since last January, and we have every confidence in the financial probity of our reader. So we are sending Mr. Stevenson an Air Travel Card in NATIONAL REVIEW's name, should he ever be stuck again. The Democratic National Committee may get away with treating its Presidential candidates that way, but it's not going to treat NATIONAL REVIEW's *subscribers* that way, you wait and see.

Are Big Nations Always Bad?

In his dissociation of this country from Britain and France on the Suez question, because of our "independent role" on the "problem of colonialism" (phrases later deleted from the official text of the press conference), Secretary Dulles once more jumped mouth first into a Communo-Egyptian trap.

Is it always a question of "colonialism" when a big and advanced country differs from a smaller or less developed country? That is just what the Communists want everyone, including us, to think—except, of course, when the big country is Russia or China. They want this for the same reason that they want us to believe that a white man is always wrong as against a Negro; a businessman as against a union leader; and an overwhelming majority of a community as against a local Communist. The smokescreen cry of "colonialism" is raised around a controversial act by an underdeveloped country exactly as the cry of "civil liberties" surrounds anything done by an individual Communist.

Do we go too far if we suggest that once in a while —oh, every thousandth time or so—a Communist, a union leader, a Negro, an underdeveloped country is wrong? Or—if that is just too heretical—that they are not always and every time a full, 100 per cent right?

On the Suez question specifically: surely colonialism, if indeed it is involved at all, is not the only *issue*. Is not the validity of treaties an issue? And is it not meet that both large nations and small, rich and poor, live up to their treaties? And did not Nasser violate a treaty by his act toward the Canal Company?

Some sophists now say that Egypt was not a party to the Treaty of Constantinople, and therefore not bound by it. If that argument proved anything, it would be that Egypt then had no claim to sovereign rights of any sort over the Canal, these having been disposed of by international treaty prior to Egypt's coming into national existence. But in fact, in concluding its agreements with Britain looking to the withdrawal of British troops, Egypt like Britain based itself on the premises of the earlier treaty.

Moreover, Egypt was further bound by the sub-

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sequent contracts that explicitly asserted Company control of the Canal until 1968. Or are underdeveloped countries not bound by contracts?

But beneath the formal surface, what of the strategic, economic and geopolitical realities? Is it really mere vicious colonialism if the West believes that it must protect itself from, not Nasser's, but Moscow's threatened domination of the Middle East? Do the countries of Western Europe have no moral right to be concerned that a waterway essential to their well-being and their security should be entirely at the mercy of a man who has proved that he is bound neither by his word nor by any responsible political motive beyond his own fanatic ambition?

The Strange Immunity of Mr. Javits

Several weeks have gone by since Mr. Jacob Javits circumnavigated some direct questions designed to shed light on his extraordinary associations in 1946. No one can seriously maintain that, after his appearance before the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, there is no mystery left to be cleared up. The close analysis to which Mr. Bozell (NATIONAL REVIEW, Sept. 22) subjected Mr. Javits' testimony showed holes through which one could drive a coach and four. But the normally exacting Committee Counsel let him get away with it, time after time. Why?

We should like to advance certain hypotheses. 1) Mr. Javits himself requested the hearing. Could it be that, under the circumstances, Mr. Morris felt it was inappropriate to ask searching questions and insist on direct answers? Even if that is so, how does one explain the Committee's failure to schedule further hearings? Because 2) enormous pressure has been brought by the Republican Party to postpone any inquiry that might jeopardize Javits' chances in November, and possibly even Republican control of the Senate? If that is so, why should the chairman of the Committee, a Democrat, lend himself to such a plot? Because 3) Senator Eastland, having recently acquired the reputation of being anti-Negro, wants to avoid any suggestion of anti-Semitism—and is aware that such a charge is likely to be leveled, at least surreptitiously, at anyone who goes after Javits?

Whatever is at the bottom of it, the people are, in our judgment, being deprived of highly relevant data bearing on the qualifications of a candidate for the United States Senate. The only satisfactory explanation we have heard of Mr. Javits' behavior in 1946 is the facetious one that though he was not a Communist, he was very anxious to give everyone the impression that he was. Is that where the story is to rest?

The ACCF Replies

We have the following letter from Mr. Norman Jacobs, Executive Director of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom:

> We are indeed flattered that you find the Committee's statement on the Ethics of Controversy provides a set of criteria by which to judge the Davis-MacLeish appeal. [See editorial, NATIONAL REVIEW, Sept. 29, p. 6.]
>
> We doubt, however, that it would be proper for a non-partisan Committee to evaluate a partisan document in this pre-election period, just as we should doubt the propriety of evaluating partisan material which appears in the pages of NATIONAL REVIEW.
>
> Thereby the Committee as such does not wish to be understood as passing any specific judgment of approval or disapproval; although, of course, members of the Committee, as individuals, have every right, and are free, to express their personal views. The Board of Directors merely feels that in the tradition of pre-election politics, partisanship is a fact of American life; and that the cases mentioned do not constitute the kind of threat to cultural or political freedom which would warrant judgment by the Committee. We prefer to leave that task to the most appropriate court of appeal—the American citizen.

We have written to Mr. Jacobs as follows:

"Thank you for your letter.

"Would you be good enough to put the following questions to the Committee, in the interest of clarifying the issues?

"1. Is the Committee adopting the position that, as long as the offense against the ethics of controversy is committed by a partisan of a political movement, the offender is immune from criticism by the Committee? Or does the Committee merely mean, in this instance, that it will withhold judgment until after the election? If so, does this in turn mean that we can look forward to action by the Committee on the Clean Politics Appeal as soon as the election is over?

"2. Is the Committee saying that, 'partisanship' being 'a fact of American life,' relevant rules for conducting controversy are impossible of formulation?

"3. Is the Committee taking the position that it will henceforward not pass judgment on the character of controversy except upon a demonstration of a clear and present 'threat to cultural or political freedom'?

"4. Is the Committee saying that the ultimate court of appeal on the ethics of controversy is the American citizen? If the people sanction violations of the Committee's code, is the code invalid? Does the Committee, then, retract its judgment on Senator McCarthy—because the people of Wisconsin sustained him?

"We should appreciate hearing from you at your convenience."

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NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

Reuther Schemes for Power

If Stevenson wins the election, it will be organized labor that turned the trick. This is the consensus of on-the-spot-campaign observers, who are now in substantial agreement about three things: 1. Farm discontent is insufficient to tip the national scales in Stevenson's favor. 2. Stevenson's "issues" campaign, *i.e.*, on schools, old age, poverty pockets and what have you, is making no perceptible dent in Eisenhower's strength. 3. Stevenson, nonetheless, will do better than he did in 1952—conceivably, well enough to beat Ike; and the improvement will show up primarily in those areas where organized labor is conducting the kind of get-out-the-Democratic-vote campaign that proved so stunningly successful in Maine.

The question that wants asking, under the circumstances: How to account for organized labor's probable successes this year against a popular President, in the light of the unions' many past failures to deliver—even the labor vote? The answer apparently lies in events that students of politics may one day term Reuther's revolution—a revolution in union political tactics which today benefits the Democratic Party but is geared to serve, ultimately, the objectives of organized labor.

Big Labor's objectives are the same as ever: it continues to seek, *inter alia*, political power. Its basic strategy has not changed; it still hopes to achieve political power by gaining control of one of the existing parties, the Democratic Party. But its tactics are, indeed, revolutionary. Recent studies of union political activities, as yet unpublished, indicate that Walter Reuther and his followers have abandoned attempts to wield political power by the traditional methods—by promises of labor support in return for political favors, and by threats of withholding it should the favors be denied. They have embarked instead on a methodical campaign to infiltrate and eventually take over the Democratic Party organization. The Reuther revolution calls for a transfusion of organized labor's blood into the veins of the Democracy, and union members, accordingly, are now moving into party jobs at the precinct, county, state, and in some cases, the national level. Big Labor seeks to gain control of the Democratic Party by *becoming* the Democratic Party.

Attempts by the Labor tail to wag the Democratic dog began in earnest with the vast increases in union membership in the early thirties. The tactics, traditional in American politics, were those of creating and exploiting an alliance with one of the political parties. But it was not easy going in the beginning. Franklin Roosevelt, during his first term, strove hard to cultivate the impression of *national* leadership, to avoid alliance with any particular interest group, including labor. Roosevelt even refused to support labor's pet legislation, the Wagner Act, until its passage was assured and continued Presidential silence promised to be interpreted as a New Deal defeat.

In the 1936 election, Roosevelt privately cultivated and got the support of union leaders; but he was careful not to advertise the alliance. James MacGregor Burns (*Roosevelt, The Lion and the Fox*) tells of the day that John L. Lewis walked into FDR's office with a CIO campaign donation of $250,000 and a photographer to memorialize the event. Roosevelt gayly refused the check. "No, John," he said. "Just keep it, and I'll call on you if and when any small need arises." By the end of the campaign, the CIO treasury had been quietly tapped for a cool half million.

Continued tiffs with FDR caused Lewis to kick over the traces in 1940. He came out for Willkie, and staked his CIO presidency on his ability to deliver the labor vote. His failure to deliver even the coal miners underwrote Roosevelt's basic assumption of the period: organized labor had little independent political power.

By 1944, however, the unions were cutting a figure on the political stage that had to be reckoned with. Wartime industries brought further increases in union membership, and turned union coffers into political gold mines. Most important: the CIO Political Action Committee was created and promised to be a highly effective campaign instrument. FDR acknowledged Big Labor's arrival, and responded at the Democratic Convention with the famous command, "Clear it with Sidney!" Organized labor had gained, at last, what amounted to a veto power over the policies and candidates of the Democratic Party.

By 1952, the labor leaders were wielding that power effectively and arrogantly—when they invited Alben Barkley to breakfast during the Democratic Convention and told him he was unacceptable for the Presidential nomination; when they wrecked Estes Kefauver's bandwagon a couple of days later; when they bludgeoned Candidate Stevenson into calling for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act in the face of previously stated convictions to the contrary.

Still, Reuther and his lieutenants were not satisfied—and for understandable reasons. The veto power notwithstanding, they were still unable to mobilize legislative majorities behind key labor objectives. In spite of their high-handed methods—perhaps because of them—Congress could not be moved on Taft-Hartley. State legislatures, one after the other, enacted "right to work" laws that threatened to cut even further into labor's political power.

The event that convinced Reuther he was on the wrong track was organized labor's crushing 1950 defeat in Ohio. Big Labor put up "Jumping Joe" Ferguson as "labor's candidate" to oppose the detested Taft. Labor believed that the unseating of Taft would pave the way for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, and, accordingly, pulled out all the stops, financial and otherwise. But Taft won the state by over 400,000 votes. The trouble, Reuther concluded, as he looked over the wreckage, was that labor was defying a time-honored rule in American politics: it was ostentatiously endeavoring to swing the general electorate behind the policies

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of a special interest group. Not even Big Labor was strong enough to get away with that.

Labor's future advances, Reuther reasoned, would have to be made in sheep's clothing. Labor would hand-pick reliable candidates to run for office, but they would run as conventional Democrats, and on conventional Democratic platforms treating labor as but one of the many groups in which the party was interested. Most important of all: labor's well-trained and well-heeled political machine would operate in the disguise of the regular Democratic Party organization. The plan would, of course, have mutual advantages. Labor would get, as grist for its political machine, all persons who traditionally vote Democratic. And the Democratic Party would find its organizational chores in urban communities performed by an efficient cadre of zealous and tireless labor organizers.

For a pilot run of the new infiltration tactics, Reuther chose the Democratic organization in Michigan. Union

members and employees went after party jobs, from ward heeler to state chairman. Their success was breathtaking; by 1956 Reuther had a stranglehold on Michigan Democracy. A majority of the Michigan delegation to the Democratic National Convention last August were members of Reuther's UAW. Officials of organized labor now constitute a majority of the Executive Committee of the Michigan State Democratic organization.

The new tactics have already paid dividends. In 1954, the Reuther machine gave Pat McNamara—a political unknown, but a labor wheelhorse—the formidable task of unseating Senator Homer Ferguson, a popular and powerful figure in Michigan. The machine swept McNamara to a sensational victory. At the Democratic Convention this year, Reuther shrewdly kept the Michigan delegation behind Governor "Soapy" Williams' favorite-son candidacy just long enough to let labor's real candidate know which side his bread was buttered on. At the critical moment, Reuther swung the entire Michigan delegation to Adlai, and the Stevenson bandwagon was on its way.

Reuther's organizational tactics in Michigan are now being pursued in every state of the union—and, judging by all the signs, with similar success. Today organized labor has captured complete control of at least one local Democratic organization in every state of the Union—including, be it noted, the Southern states. After Michigan, union infiltration seems to be farthest advanced in Ohio and Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania observers believe that Governor Leader's handling of the Westinghouse strike last year is a fair measure of Big Labor's influence in the Pennsylvania Democratic organization—and thus in the state government. Pennsylvania's workman's compensation law provides that payments may not be made to persons who are unemployed as the result of a labor dispute—unless the dispute involves a lockout by management. The International Union of Electrical Workers struck Westinghouse over the terms of a new, general contract. Leader called a conference of governors, which recommended arbitration of the dispute, a recommendation that Westinghouse refused to follow on the grounds that a new, general contract has never been considered a proper subject for arbitration. Leader thereupon declared Westinghouse guilty of a "lockout"—which automatically entitled IUEW strikers to unemployment compensation benefits. The state of Pennsylvania thus ended up financing the IUEW strike. This is the sort of thing that organized labor would like to see more of, and the sort of thing that Reuther's revolution is designed to accomplish.

How long will it take Big Labor, with Reuther's new tactics, to mobilize labor majorities in Congress and in the state legislatures? That seems to be the proper question: How long? Not whether. Consider the potential advantages of a labor-sponsored Democratic candidate over his Republican opponent. For one thing, his party organization will be functioning all year 'round, and every year. Union employees, who also have party jobs, can be counted on to keep Democratic fences mended and to build new ones while Republican organizers are, according to the tradition, sitting out the interim between elections.

For another thing, the Democratic candidate will have at his disposal a virtually unlimited reservoir of "volunteer" workers for campaign chores throughout urban communities. Take, for example, Richard Neuberger's 1954 Senate campaign in Oregon. The unions reportedly made some 200,000 phone calls on his behalf. Over 200,000 Neuberger letters were written. The unions provided precinct workers, and put more than 100 autos at his disposal for election day transportation.

Then there is the matter of the labor press which reaches approximately 25 million persons throughout the country. News content is now almost exclusively political. Buying signed articles from the Democratic candidate is a gimmick with special advantages: in 1954, Neuberger is reported to have got $1,000 apiece for articles run in the union newspapers.

Perhaps the most important factor of all is patronage. Patronage, traditionally, is the cement that holds together American party organizations. Federal patronage, thanks to civil service legislation, has now all but disappeared. Today it is being replaced, in Democratic organizations, by union patronage—the bestowal of union jobs in return for services performed for the Democratic Party.

Reuther's revolution may not pull Stevenson through this year. But Reuther doesn't mind waiting for a few years. He believes that a formula has been discovered through which organized labor will achieve supreme political power—the kind that, one of these days, will make Walter Reuther the most important man in America.

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The Campaign

SAM M. JONES

As It Looks Now

In the past week, the Democratic tide displayed a slight tendency to slacken, whereas a Republican surge under the President's personal leadership had the appearance of a potentially highly effective counterattack. Since Eisenhower dismounted from "Cloud No. 9" (to borrow the Truman imagery) and discarded high-level techniques in favor of the old-fashioned wallop, there has been a marked change in the tone of the campaign. The *new* Stevenson appeared less impressive against the *new* Eisenhower. Republican leaders recovered some measure of confidence and Democratic leaders were disturbed for the first time since Maine provided a portent of triumph. Some observers voiced the opinion that the Democratic drive might have reached its peak and that Stevenson, the pace-setter, might be losing ground as Eisenhower, the late-starter, hit his stride.

Reports from the field do not tend to confirm this opinion, although it may be too early to obtain any accurate public reaction.

NATIONAL REVIEW for October 13 carried my first estimate of states "safe or probable" for the respective candidates, and the "doubtful" states. (Sixteen with 120 electoral votes in the Republican column; 16 with 171 in the Democratic; 16 with 240 electoral votes, classified doubtful.)

During the past week, through personal interviews and airmail and long-distance communication with political analysts, I have received supplemental information and informed opinion on some of the "doubtful" states. A veteran newsman in Arizona reports that his state (which Eisenhower carried by 42,000 in '52) is still leaning Republican on the Presidential level; Democratic for the state ticket. Rumors that Carmine DeSapio, Tammany potentate and Averell Harriman's Convention manager, is sitting this one out, strengthen the belief of New York observers that Eisenhower will carry the Empire State with its 45 electoral votes. (In 1952 Stevenson polled only a token plurality of 22,000 in the five boroughs of New York City.) Correspondents in New Jersey and Delaware give the GOP an edge, and similar reports come from Oregon and Washington where the President is expected to run well ahead of Republican Senatorial candidates. A favorable outlook for the automobile industry is said to have swung the balance to Eisenhower in Michigan.

Pennsylvania, according to authoritative *Republican* sources within the state, is going to Stevenson unless high-pressure campaigning by the President himself can regain votes already lost. Several Republican leaders have provided "off the record" information that Stevenson has a marginal lead in Connecticut and Rhode Island. In the Farm Belt west of the Mississippi, Eisenhower is expected to win all states by substantially reduced margins, with one exception. In the opinion of several analysts, Minnesota, which has gone Democratic in five of the last six Presidential elections, seems prepared to make it six out of seven. Montana and Nevada are also reported leaning Democratic.

There is no assurance that states currently indicating a slight preference for one candidate or the other may not change political complexion between now and election day. Republicans are placing high hopes on the effect of Mr. Eisenhower's personal appearances in states currently regarded as leaning toward his opponent. Democrats are equally hopeful of augmenting party strength by vigorous campaigning and intensified organizational work with their labor collaborators.

For purposes of comparison, a current analysis of the two-directional drift in the doubtful states gives the Republicans at least marginal claim on Arizona, Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Michigan, Oregon and Washington—a combined total of 103 electoral votes. The Democrats have a comparable tenuous grasp on Connecticut, Minnesota, Montana, Nevada, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island—a combined total of 62 electoral votes.

Adding these figures to the subtotal of the "safe or probable" states, the Republicans emerge with a lead in 23 states with 223 electoral votes and the Democrats with a comparable advantage in 22 states with 233 electoral votes. Both sides lay public claim to California, Illinois and Massachusetts and both concede privately that the outcome in all three is still in extreme doubt. Their combined electoral count is 75 votes. On the basis of this tentative appraisal, California with its 32 votes could put the Democrats over the 266 hurdle, while any two of the three could do the same for the Republicans.

The chief torment of the political reporter is a campaign where the tangible evidence and the imponderables seem at war with each other. This is such a campaign. By all the strange but usually justifiable logic of politics, Mr. Eisenhower should win easily. The mighty imponderables are on his side. His personal popularity is self-evident. There is no current war and no more than the usual rumors of war. Employment is sky-high and luxuries have become the average man's staples. This, according to the book, should be an unbeatable combination.

But past campaigns and labels to the contrary notwithstanding, the Stevenson-Democratic campaign has been far more effective to date than anyone anticipated. Republican complacency has aided the opposition but this negative assistance does not explain the strange comeback of the candidate who could only muster a grand total of 89 electoral votes four years ago, or the amazing homogeneity of the party that virtually dismembered itself in the same election.

Today there is strong evidence that an immense, and possibly a decisive, number of voters are turning to Stevenson and the Democratic Party. Yet the imponderables present powerful reasons for rejecting the implications of the trend. They are the impalpable weight in the balance that convinces this reporter that the odds are still on Eisenhower.

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Letter from London

F. A. VOIGT

The Socialist Concept of Britain

British Labor has moved even further to the Left.

What does "Left" mean in this context? It means two things, the one relating to home affairs, the other to foreign affairs. With regard to the former, it has been expressed in one word which has been, and is, repeated with unrelenting emphasis. It has become a kind of code signal in the literature of the whole movement —the word *equality*. The title of the "policy document," accepted by the Labor Conference at Brighton, is *Towards Equality*.

Equality, we are told, is the classless society. Labor's spokesmen are tireless in assuring the world that *equality* means this and nothing else.

There was no discussion of principles at the recent Labor Conference at Blackpool. No reason was given why *equality* is desirable or why a *classless society* should be better than any other. The experience to be gathered from attempts made in our own time to create a classless society, was simply ignored. Equality is good, right, and just. Inequality is wicked and unjust. Any doubts on the subject are obviously the products of prejudice, ignorance, or ill-will.

Equality is conceived of in purely quantitative terms. It is assumed that, if all incomes are equal, all men will be equal. A slight exception is to be made in favor of manual labor; for, while lower wages are to be raised, the "differentials" applying to higher wages are to be retained. That is to say, all manual laborers are to be equal but, in the words of Mr. Gaitskell, not "exactly equal."

Wages generally are to be "levelled up," incomes to be "levelled down." Business, enterprise, profits and inheritance are to be equalized with the greatest possible exactitude. Controls and subsidies are to be restored, taxes on capital gains are to be increased, business profits (already taxed up to 60 per cent)are to be retaxed, and death duties are to be raised to 100 per cent on all save the very smallest estates: no father should leave any wealth behind for his children. Education is a commodity, and the schools of England are to be "democratized," so that there may be no freedom of choice on the part of parents in selecting schools for their children.

If British Socialists have their way, the society of the future will not only be egalitarian; it will be uniform, homogeneous. A society that has been made equal has to be kept equal; and to keep it so, far greater and far more enduring powers of coercion are needed than to make it so.

As all foreign analogies fail, what manner of despotism can we expect in England if the advance of socialism continues? Mr. Bevan made a revealing observation at Blackpool. He spoke of power as something to be "given away," to be "dispersed," both at home and abroad. This is something quite new in the history of socialism. For hitherto socialism of all countries was concerned with the "seizure of power," whether by forcible or by "democratic" means.

The direction in which the party is half steering and half pushing society is toward an order which will be under the domination of the party (whether in or out of office), of the trade unions, and of an enormously swollen bureaucracy—a combination that will wield a diffuse power, almost impalpable, but not the less despotic for that reason; something that may, perhaps, answer the question that troubles all despots: "How can despotism be perpetuated so that it will endure forever?"

And this English society of the future is conceived as existing in isolation from the rest of the world—at least, that is what we must infer. For hardly a thought was given at Blackpool to increased production and the necessity of economic survival in a competitive world.

With regard to the socialist conception of foreign policy, we are confronted with a revival, in modified form, of the pacifism which, in the thirties, made the avoidable Second World War unavoidable. Pacifism, in those years, was concentrated on disarmament. The extremer pacifists, such as Bertrand Russell, demanded that England disarm even if the other powers did not. In this respect, something has, for once, been learned from experience: Even British Socialists would not dare to recommend unilateral disarmament, though they strive to keep British armaments as low as they can. But armaments may be used only in defense against direct attack. With this one exception, there may be no "resort to force" of any kind. At home, the use of force is permitted: the nation may be held up to ransom, hardships may be inflicted on millions of people, and recalcitrant individual workmen may be "sent to Coventry." But force may be used only against fellow countrymen—not against foreigners.

The present conflict with Egypt provides a striking example. The nationalization of the Suez Canal[1] has been officially condemned by the Labor Party. But force must not be used in defense of interests which, on the party's own admission, are legitimate and vital. There may, or must, be negotiation. But what if negotiation fail? No answer was given at Blackpool to this question.

What inducement has Egypt or any other power to refrain from aggressive or predatory action in future? No inducement at all, as far as the Labor Party is concerned. If we consider that Mr. Gaitskell will probably be Prime Minister of England three years hence (if not sooner), and that Mr. Bevan will hold high office in his Government (perhaps he will be Foreign Secretary), it would not be surprising if the Kremlin, Colonel Nasser, Marshal Tito, and others were to regard the next general elections in England as promising the offer of a free hand in the Middle East, and not only the Middle East.

Despotism at home and abdication abroad are the terms in which the Labor Party and the trade unions conceive England's future.

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[1] In my "Letter from London" in NATIONAL REVIEW of September 29, I erroneously referred to the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company. It is not the Canal Company but the Canal itself that has been nationalized.

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Should Conservatives V

Yes

—Yes—As the "least bad and the only effective n —No—For the most imp the Republican Party fr

JAMES BURNHAM

THE nature of our political parties and our "two-party system" is widely misunderstood. Our parties are not ideological or class organizations, like the parties in most other countries, but loose, shifting coalitions of diverse interest groups that join on a limited basis for the practical purposes of conducting elections and forming a government.

In the many-party systems of most other free nations, coalitions are formed in parliament *after* an election, in order to assemble a majority on which an Executive (premier, prime minister) can rest. Inevitably, the individual Executive chosen by a given coalition will be personally and politically distasteful to many of the parties that nevertheless give him practical parliamentary support so that there may be a functioning government. The present premier of France, for example, is the Socialist, Guy Mollet. He has been sustained in the Assembly, as a lesser evil to the practical alternatives, by Gaullists and Popular Republicans who are sharply opposed to many of his political ideas.

Compromise Essential

We—partly because of our "independent" Executive, partly from special circumstances of our political history—form our coalitions *before* general elections, and in this way make possible the preservation of the two-party system which experience shows to be so serviceable an instrument of free government. But this means, obviously, that the Presidential candidate around whom the coalition forms for the practical task of contesting the election must be a "compromise." He cannot, by the nature of the case, express equally well the diverse political views and interests of each group that enters into the coalition. Ordinarily he will try to hold the sectors together by being rather vague and even inconsistent. But so far as he has views of his own these will incline more to one and less to others of the constituent groups.

All this is well understood by American practical politicians. Governor Timmerman of South Carolina and Walter Reuther of the United Automobile Workers both support Adlai Stevenson as Presidential candidate. Neither of them (or of the groups each respectively represents) agrees politically with Mr. Stevenson. Each nevertheless believes that his long-term political goals will be most effectively furthered, in 1956, by accepting the Democratic Party as a practical "united front" for the election campaign. Now and after the election, neither gives up his own distinctive political views.

These prefatory remarks summarize the general analysis on the basis of which I have decided to vote for Eisenhower and Nixon, in spite of my criticism of their ideas and their record—a criticism which, in voting for them, I neither retract nor mitigate.

I sympathize with those conservatives who have become so disappointed with Dwight Eisenhower and his Administration that they refuse to support him, and will either abstain or vote for some such third-party try as Andrews-Werdel. But though I sympathize with this conclusion, I think it incorrect.

This course (abstention or third party in 1956) seems to me subjective and sectarian: the expression of a frustration that can serve only to isolate conservatives still further from the life of the nation. In reality, it is a yielding to the drive of our opponents who at present prevail, of course, in both parties. Their aim is to label American conservatives as a "lunatic fringe," to push us into a side alley, and to rule out all genuine conservative ideas as "hopeless extremism." By withdrawing from the two-party system—the Main Street of American politics—we simply concede our opponents their objective, and shut ourselves off from potential friends and allies who are not willing to split.

Moreover, by moving toward "splinter party" and "multi-party" politics, proved so often to be fatal to republican government, we take a position that is indefensible in principle, quite apart from its practical insignificance.

It should not be forgotten that a right-wing third-party movement, even a small one, would also be a coalition, and that in 1956 the genuine conservatives within it would be a minority, even as they are in the two big parties. The principal third-party force, from the South, comprises true conservatives but also not a few plain racists masquerading as conservatives. In addition, all sorts of cranks and anti-Semites would inevitably flock around, as things are today. In 1956 a conservative third-party movement has not been sufficiently or properly *prepared*, even granted its desirability.

Parties Not Identical

Accepting, for 1956, the premise of the two-party system, which party? The nature of our parties as well as the present phase of our social development (full employment, material prosperity, rapidly expanding population, undisputed identification of the primary foreign opponent) tend to minimize party differences. Nevertheless, it is a misleading exaggeration to say, as is so frequently done, that the parties are identical. A minor difference, or a difference in degree, is still a difference, and may be decisive in its historical consequences. And the balance of differences between the 1956 Democratic and Republican parties inclines heavily, on a conservative scale, to the Republican side.

(*Continued on p.* 14)

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? for Eisenhower-Nixon?

? that reason can discover," of stopping the Democrats task at hand is to liberate man who is destroying it

No

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

MR. Dwight Eisenhower, an inconsistent Liberal, is in firm control of the Republican Party. For conservatives, the strategic job in this year's election is to break that control. It can be broken only by defeating Mr. Eisenhower.

This is the simple and inexorable logic of the situation. But, as it does so often, the cliché of "realism" interferes with reasoning. We are faced, the "realists" assert, with a greater evil than the election of Mr. Eisenhower; and that is the election of Mr. Stevenson. Thus, we shall have to choose, not the greater good, but the lesser evil.

Mr. Stevenson, I contend, is *not* the greater evil. A conservative ought to prefer a Liberal Administration *opposed* by the Republican Party to a Liberal Administration *supported* by it. And here are the reasons.

In the first place, Mr. Eisenhower is not the first Republican President elected since 1928. He is the first Democratic President elected on the Republican ticket. His Administration has been, on the whole, not a Republican but a Democratic Administration. And the perversion of the American political system that will be, for a long time, connected with his name was not even a tactical advantage for the Republican Party. The Republican Party is much weaker today than it was in 1952—so badly weakened, in fact, that the party's incumbent leaders, rather desperately, stake its momentary survival on running a Liberal candidate in a Democratic type of campaign.

Two Liberal Candidates

This campaign, everybody agrees, is cleansed of the smallest shred of an issue. Why? Because both parties are trying to elect a Liberal President. We have, in this sterilized campaign, not to choose between a greater and a lesser evil. We have to choose between a Liberal President *opposed* by the Republican Party and a Liberal President who can deliver *both* parties to the Liberal Establishment.

For four years, Mr. Eisenhower has made use of the Republican Party to execute Liberal policies. The Republican Party, a pathetic captive of the victorious Mr. Eisenhower, has been compelled not only to underwrite an extension of Roosevelt's New Deal but to sponsor a foreign policy which not even the Democrats had dared propose. The first Democratic President elected on the Republican ticket has actually repealed the American political system: his Administration has been relieved of an opposition—the American people have been deprived of a second party.

This is the crux of the matter, and the measure of our decision. If Stevenson is elected, the Republican Party will scrutinize his Administration with the zeal of a responsible opposition; and whenever his policies touch upon serious sensibilities of the American people, the organized opposition will mobilize serious pressures. If Eisenhower is elected, the Republican Party will still be the opposition—but an opposition that has been maimed into shameful ineffectiveness. The Republican Party, even under Eisenhower, will hate the New Deal, will suspect a foreign policy of "coexistence with Communism"—and will be forced to join the Democratic "opposition" in *supporting* both.

If one concedes that Mr. Eisenhower executes Democratic policies, and if one happens to oppose them, the conclusion is inescapable: the Republican Party must be liberated from its dishonorable captivity and must be voted out of its present total impotence, into the relative power of an important and effective opposition. And if one agrees that the decisive task of the epoch is a conservative rally in America, one could not possibly doubt that a conservative rally *within* the Republican Party presupposes the party's divorce from Liberal policies.

But there is, I take it, some doubt concerning Mr. Eisenhower's dedication to Liberal policies. I keep hearing, for one, that Mr. George Humphrey's fiscal policies counteract Mr. Eisenhower's congenital New Dealism. I am also told that Mr. Ezra Benson's strength of character prevents Mr. Eisenhower from following his generous impulses vis-à-vis the support-hungry farmers. On these two grounds —two stubborn exceptions to the New Deal—Mr. Eisenhower's Administration seems preferable to Mr. Stevenson's.

But is it?

Interchangeable Twins

In the first place, Mr. Eisenhower shares Mr. Humphrey's fiscal convictions just about as much (and that means, of course, as little) as he shares anybody else's convictions on technical aspects of government. I would advise conservatives who are impressed with Mr. Eisenhower's friendship for Mr. Humphrey to read the *New Yorker's* unchallenged report on the affair: When he saw himself elected, Mr. Eisenhower knew neither about fiscal policies nor about the existence of Mr. Humphrey; nor did his several vice presidents in charge of "selecting the team"—until the famous Mr. Sidney Weinberg (incidentally, an old Democratic hand in choosing the New Deal's technicians) tapped Mr. Humphrey. But the Democratic Mr. Weinberg, no doubt, is just as patriotically available for Mr. Stevenson.

I refuse, in fact, to be unduly afraid of Mr. Stevenson. He will do plenty of damage, but his Administration will be neither much less nor, indeed, much more revolutionary than Mr. Eisenhower's. He will of course retain Mr. Eisenhower's aversion to tax cuts, but there is no reason to assume that

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YES *(cont'd)*

James Burnham

On foreign policy, both parties are so bad that a choice is painful. Still, Stevenson and his associates show by what they say and who they are that a Democratic Administration would go much beyond a Republican in irresponsible handouts of "unconditioned" foreign aid, in formal acceptance of Communist China, and in a general wallowing in mushy globalism à la Eleanor Roosevelt. On the military side, the Stevenson program as it has been consistently developed during the campaign holds a really alarming threat to undercut our military security and to dilute our nuclear system. And, in spite of everything, I feel a little better at having Foster Dulles and Herbert Hoover, Jr., in the State Department, rather than Chester Bowles and Arthur Schlesinger Jr., who (or whose similars) would replace them; and at Admiral Strauss rather than Robert Oppenheimer as Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.

On domestic issues the differences are plainer, and more plainly argue for the Republicans. In all economic areas, the Republican Party is at any rate *less* socialist, *less* statist than the Democratic Party. After all, the Eisenhower Administration, in acts almost without precedent in the history of governments, did turn the Tidelands over to the states, and did sell the synthetic rubber plants to private investors. It has resisted most powerful pressures toward government electric power and government development of civilian atomic energy. We forget how many fewer government controls there are today than when the Republicans took office. In housing, health and education, where both parties are committed to government subsidies, there is no question but that the Democrats would go much further than the Republicans in amount, and in extent of federal control. The fiscal policy of the Republicans is not quite so pure as claimed by the admirers of Secretary Humphrey, but it is incomparably superior to either the past practice or the future prospect of the Democrats.

Both parties include elements from all social groups. But majorities of those groups most congenial to conservative tradition are, for the most part, supporting the Republican Party: the responsible businessmen, for example, such professionals as doctors and lawyers, residents of the smaller towns, operating farm-owners.

On the positive side this social division is admittedly mixed, but it is much sharper when looked at negatively, and this is perhaps the crucial test. Our politics do not go far wrong when we can identify and locate the enemy.

Pro-Stevenson Forces

The key units of the anti-conservative forces are aggressively and prominently in the Stevenson-Kefauver army: 1) the labor bureaucracy; 2) Americans for Democratic Action, along with nearly all the leftist intellectuals, that is, eggheads; 3) the Communist Party. The Communists have repudiated their past "independent" electoral politics, which involved support of Vincent Hallinan on the Progressive Party ticket in 1952 and of outright Communist Party tickets before then, except for 1944 when they were for Franklin Roosevelt. This year they are "joining with labor" (as they put it) in the drive for Stevenson-Kefauver as the only way "to defeat the Cadillac cabinet."

We should not underestimate the political intelligence of the Comunists. The analysis that has led the Communists, without ceasing to be Communists, to support Stevenson-Kefauver, calls with equal cogency for conservatives, without ceasing to be conservatives, to support Eisenhower-Nixon. The negative lineup seems to me a conclusive consideration, quite apart from other analysis and argument. Surely, serious American conservatives must stand opposed as directly as possible to the labor bureaucrats, the ADA and the Communist Party.

On the same principle, conservatives surely belong, in the kind of practical struggle that an election is, alongside such men as Representative Walter Judd and Senator William Knowland. Is it not pharisaic, as well as stultifying, to adopt a holier-than-thou attitude of petulant withdrawal that by implication dismisses Judd and Knowland as turncoats?

For that matter, whatever our doubts about Richard Nixon, what conservative can properly be indifferent to the choice between Nixon and that dangerous clown, Estes Kefauver: a choice that is also up for decision on November sixth?

I shall vote for Eisenhower-Nixon, then, but without much enthusiasm, simply as the least bad choice that reason can discover among the few alternatives that are offered. The election, of course, is only one episode, and probably not a major one. It may be that the time has come to attempt the organization of a conservative ADA or Fabian Society, through which conservative opinion in this country can undergo a continuous, coherent development that will, as one side effect, strengthen the conservative tendencies in *both* major parties, or in a conceivable new party of the future.

NO *(cont'd)*

William S. Schlamm

Mr. Stevenson has any deeper convictions in fiscal matters than Mr. Eisenhower. He will, in fact, tolerate a certain credit strictness, as Keynes himself would have counselled, so long as it does not interfere with political profits; and he will embark upon an easy-money policy the moment such a course might swing votes his way. Which is to say, Mr. Stevenson's fiscal convictions are, demonstrably, identical with Mr. Eisenhower's.

And exactly the same goes for the alleged conflict of the two farm policies. Mr. Stevenson, neither more committed nor more sophisticated in farm matters than Mr. Eisenhower, is perfectly willing to have it either way, or both ways—rigid supports or flexible or none—so long as he can attune a half-way balanced budget to voters' sentiment in the farm belt. To vote for Mr. Eisenhower in support of Mr. Benson's manly convictions is about as intelligent as to vote for Mr. Stevenson in support of thrifty Senator Byrd's continued control over the Senate Finance Committee. That is, not very intelligent. And completely irrelevant.

For it is altogether irrelevant, in the cataclysmic circumstances of 1956, to consider the "business climate" of the Administration a primary factor in our decision. If one grants (as, I am sure, all conservatives do) that

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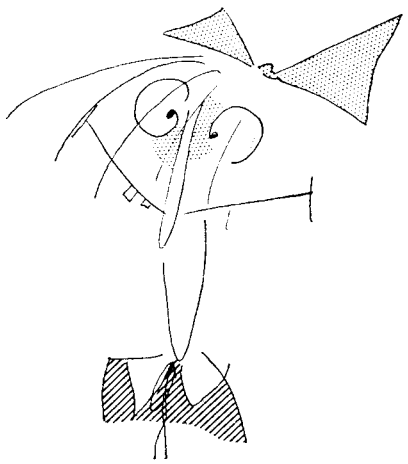
American business cannot survive a collapse of the American position, then it does not matter one hoot how "friendly to business" an Administration is that otherwise surrenders to Communism. There is an inexorable system of political priorities; and the supreme priority goes to an Administration's conduct in the war against Communism. If, on this one decisive ground, the Administration's tragic failure is conceded, no other consideration can bail it out.

Now I would, of course, gladly vote for Mr. Stevenson if I knew of the slightest reason to expect from him firmness where Mr. Eisenhower caved in. But there is no such reason. In the one area that dominates and determines our fate, the two candidates are interchangeable twins. But there is this essential fact: there is a good chance that Mr. Stevenson would be chased out of town for a policy Mr. Eisenhower gets away with. That is, there is a chance of organizing against Stevenson an opposition that is miserably aborted under Eisenhower. And this opposition, under Stevenson, might be strong enough to block a Democratic policy of appeasement which, under Eisenhower, rides roughshod over a traduced Republican Party.

On "Taking a Walk"

Indeed, if I were to believe that politics *is* dirty business, and that one therefore can with cynical intent *set up* a target one means to shoot at, I would vote for Mr. Stevenson anyway. For, clearly, the prospects for a conservative rally would substantially improve if conservatives were no longer to be confused by the presence of an allegedly conservative President in the White House. But my voting reflexes are conditioned by moral and philosophical persuasions; and though I could tune down these reflexes enough to vote in 1952 for Eisenhower, in 1944 and 1948 for Dewey (all very much against my persuasion), I simply *could* not pull the Stevenson lever. This may be squeamishness; and perhaps I should join those of my conservative friends who, with Machiavellian resoluteness, are going to vote for Stevenson. But a modicum of tidiness, it seems to me, ought to be preserved in an age that has seen principle and faith



Kreuttner

"My name is Ameline Twirg and I'm just crazy—about Ike, I mean, and I think our policy of Middle-of-the-Rhodesians, Dynamically Moderate yet Progressively Sideways What-is-it is excellent, and so do my parents who stuff bats, that's their hobby, you should see the house!"

assassinated by expediency and *Realpolitik*.

As I am voting in Vermont, I shall have no opportunity to cast a protest vote that would be counted. I shall therefore shop most carefully for Congressmen, Republican *or* Democratic, who will defend the sovereignty of Congress against an impudent Executive branch. And I shall abstain from casting my vote for Presidential electors.

This, I have occasionally been told, goes against the grain of red-blooded Americanism. But I wonder where that canard came from. For it is an altogether noble and time-honored American tradition to "take a walk" in an election that makes a mockery of choice. Some of the finest chapters of American history have been written by statesmen and voters who, when confronted with two evils, chose neither. And this is not just because, by taking a walk, they preserved their private cleanness. They did much more. They protected the American franchise to make, a next time, meaningful choices.

Nor am I impressed by the advice to discard the ailing Mr. Eisenhower and to vote, in eager anticipation, for the right-thinking Mr. Nixon. I reject this advice for two reasons: I consider such gambling on other people's life expectancy a morbid and rather disgusting game; and I am by no means certain that Mr. Nixon is right-thinking. On the contrary, he has struck me, and not only throughout this campaign, as Mr. Eisenhower's perfectly authentic running-mate. If Mr. Nixon were to inherit Mr. Eisenhower's job, he would be not just moved by the dead hand of his boss—he would be moved, I am afraid, by Mr. Eisenhower's motives: a devouring desire "to be loved," and an unquenchable thirst for massive majorities. I am not at all sure that I would vote for Mr. Nixon if he were running for President. I am quite sure I shall not vote for Mr. Eisenhower just because he is tailed by Mr. Nixon.

So I shall abstain, and I advise my friends to do likewise. Should two or three million Americans who in 1952 felt obliged to vote for Mr. Eisenhower draw the same conclusion, Mr. Eisenhower will be defeated. In which case the Republic will go through the punishment of another Democratic Administration, a punishment the Republic has survived several times before and will survive again. We shall have to suffer some of the mischief Mr. Stevenson will commit; and we may be able to stop some of the mischief he intends. For, under Stevenson, we shall have returned to the muscular toughness of a two-party system. We shall thus endeavor, with a new lease on life, to infuse the politics of the nation with a sense of urgency and a faith in principles. And we shall have saved the Republican Party from its atrophy in shameful meaninglessness.

At a recent lunch with the publisher of the *New York Times* Mr. Eisenhower reportedly told Mr. Sulzberger that he decided only after his heart attack to run for re-election: *then* only he realized, with some terror, that the Republican Party was not yet entirely Liberalized. Mr. Eisenhower, this time, drew a correct conclusion from a correct observation. His bid for re-election is indeed the bid for final Liberal control of the Republican Party. If Mr. Eisenhower's request is honored, his second Administration will be even more recklessly Liberal than his first; for he then, with a hardly bearable humility, will claim the halo of a popular mandate.

He who, with me, wishes to rally American conservatism around and within the Republican Party, must wish for the defeat of Mr. Eisenhower.

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How Conservatives Should Vote

More Letters from Readers

The Lesser Evil

A baseball player who did not approve of his manager's strategy and did not like some members of the team hardly would strike out deliberately with men on base in order to spite the manager and his teammates. That's what stay-at-home Republicans will be doing on election day.

. . . Sad though the Eisenhower record is in some respects, the past four years have been a great improvement over the twenty that preceded them and any who would prefer a return to the corruption, chicanery and maladministration of the 1932-1952 era to another four years of Ike and Nixon hardly can be regarded as conservative. That is the choice and there is no other. Where we face a choice between two evils failure to vote for the lesser is equivalent, morally at least, to a vote for the worse.

Santa Barbara, Cal. VICTOR L. LEE

Support Mr. Nixon

Though no more happy than any other Taft Republican over Mr. Eisenhower's inveterate habit of talking intelligent conservatism and practicing leaping socialism, while he blandly ignores the malignancy of the present Supreme Court decisions and the mounting domination of brutal labor bosses, I am working for and will vote for him by virtue of these reasons:

First (and most important): Mr. Nixon has, in my guess, a considerable chance of entering the Presidential office at some point during the next term. Being a stubborn loser, I still feel that Mr. Nixon has the potentiality required for an excellent President, and that he can and will speedily reverse the direction of the present Administration. That he has accomplished little as a properly faithful Vice President is not to be held against him. Incidentally, if the Republican ticket wins, Mr. Nixon cannot be robbed of tremendous and recognized credit for the victory.

Second: Your entire "To the Editor" space is insufficient to detail the cogent reasons why Mr. Stevenson and Senator Kefauver would be twin calamities to the country.

Los Angeles, Cal. W. R. FAWCETT

Andrews and Werdel

. . . I shall cast my vote for T. Coleman Andrews for President and Thomas H. Werdel for Vice President. . . . We have in our camp a conglomeration of farmers, brilliant minds, small-business men, teachers, people from many of the minor walks of life, plus a few crackpots and a very few men of means. However, if I may make a comparison, this is the same combination that eventually achieved the miracle of the American Revolution and established a nation of free and independent people . . . . Undoubtedly, we, like our forefathers, will lose many battles before we win the final victory. But, like our forefathers, we must have their same faith and courage and continue to back what is so repeatedly branded a losing cause . . .

Dedham, Mass. PHILIP E. O'CONNELL

Stevenson; Conservative Congress

I believe it would be a tragedy for America if Eisenhower was re-elected . . . . Stevenson would be faced with . . . a Congress more hostile to him than that same Congress would be to Eisenhower. Therefore, faced with bitter opposition to his one-world, socialistic schemes, Adlai could put fewer of them across than could Ike . . . . Also Stevenson's election would surely mean the final split of the Democrat and Republican parties. The Democrats would break on the intra-party shoals of wide disagreement. The Republicans, freed from Eisenhower, would be able to take a stand on issues which would let the voters know where they stand.

Therefore, my suggestion is: vote for Stevenson. And concentrate on your local Congressman this fall. Organize at the grass-roots and elect a conservative Congress.

San Francisco, Cal. WILLIS A. CARTO

Sit It Out

. . . Living in Vermont, with the absence of choice offered by left-wing Republicans opposed by left-wing Democrats, from the national down to the state and local levels, my situation is as simple as that of a man who is offered a dish of bad eggs or of bad oysters: one *may* be worse than the other but he is determined to try neither. . . .

This I do know: we have had four years in which we could judge for ourselves what the "lesser evil" was doing: four more years of this kind of slow working poison may end up by wrecking the Republic as completely as the more showy Democratic dynamite. Who is to say that termites are better than TNT? Not the author of this letter at any rate. I am going to sit out this election. And I know that thousands of Americans will be sitting along beside me.

South Shaftsbury, Vt. RUTH C. DOUGLAS

"Yes" and "No" Plan

Many conservatives would like to make an effective protest against both parties this year, but they can find no means to do so. I therefore propose a plan for more effective expression of the popular will and widening of the democratic process: namely, to put a "yes" or "no" beside each candidate's name on the ballot. Each one would have a choice of marking "yes" or "no" beside each name. The conservative could then vote "no" beside the names of Eisenhower and Stevenson. The Presidency would then go to the man with the highest number of *plus* votes.

Think of how effective a protest would be with each candidate getting, say, a few thousand net plus votes. Politicians could hardly shout if they have a popular mandate. But suppose, you ask, that both men pull net negative votes. What then? Then, obviously, it is the will of the people that the office go to no one and it may be declared vacant for four years—perhaps not a bad idea at that.

New York City MURRAY N. ROTHBARD

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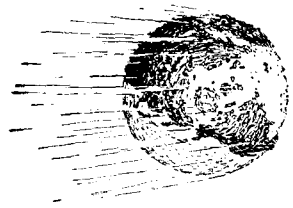

The THIRD WORLD WAR

JAMES BURNHAM

When Thieves Fall Out

The 8th Congress of the world's largest Communist Party, which has just finished its sessions at Peiping, did not produce any news judged spectacular by the world press. Still, it was not without incident. To a Communist mind, for example, and to those able to project their view through a Communist lens, it was a more than minor item that the Congress—the first since 1945—declared the "bourgeois democratic" phase of the Chinese revolution to be ended. The Chinese "New Democracy," as Mao had named it, has now shifted to an early form of the "proletarian dictatorship," able to set its course more directly toward "socialism."

But how directly, how quickly, and by just what methods? These are not trivial questions. The answer to them decides the degree of brutality in farm collectivization, the extent of police terror, the role of slave camps, the liquidation or assimilation of "class enemies," the numbers of persons who will be allowed to starve.

And on the answers to these questions the Congress was not, apparently, united—in spite of its formally unanimous votes. What seem to be reliable reports from China have spoken for some while of the growth of two conflicting factions: one headed by the Premier, Chou En-lai, the other by the Party Secretary, Liu Shao-chi. Liu bases himself organizationally on the fanatic young cadres turned out by the local training centers that he has set up throughout China. Chou has been linked with professionals and intellectuals, many of them former "reactionaries" whom Chou has been recruiting, or wishes to recruit, into the party.

Liu apparently stands for full concentration on heavy industry, rapid collectivization of farms, thorough police terror, a ruthless treatment of the old social classes. Chou, it is reported, favors more attention to light (consumer) industry, a slower pace with the peasants, a milder, less doctrinaire approach to the "alien" classes. In short, if these accounts are correct, Liu's is the *hard* faction; Chou's, the *soft*.

Hard and Soft

Doubtless the line-up is not, or not yet, quite so simply clear as this, and unquestionably the political conflict is crisscrossed by personal struggles for power. But it is a general fact that during the past three years a division along these lines has tended to arise in one after another nation of the Communist world.

The Softs (the term is of course relative—soft, let us say, as pine is to oak) want more consumer goods, some reform of "justice" with less terror, wider (if still strictly limited) public discussion, concessions to the peasants and even to small private traders and artisans, more latitude for satellite nations and national minorities.

Tito, in a way, was the first important Soft of this period: or, rather, was compelled to develop Soft tendencies once he cut loose from Stalin's Kremlin. In Poland the division has come out in the open, with the Softs led by Premier Cyrankiewicz supported, apparently, by the recently rehabilitated former Party Secretary, Wladyslaw Gomulka; and the Hards, by the present Party Secretary, Edward Ochab. As is by now well known, the Soft tendency has made notable advances in Poland.

In Russia itself the same tendencies have appeared, although the "security" of the Russian governing elite is so well maintained that it is difficult to place given individuals. Khrushchev seems, by most accounts, to be a centrist, like Stalin before him, trying to bridge the gap and to hold his own position by playing the conflicting factions against each other. He did not start the public de-Stalinization campaign, but, seeing it to be inescapable, jumped to its front as a preventive maneuver.

This Soft-Hard division, or potential division, is not arbitrary. Once conditions permit, it arises naturally, from two alternate sets of answers, both plausible, to the problems objectively posed within the Communist world. The primary changed condition that now permits the division to develop is the elimination of Stalin.

Stalinism, over a generation, *solved* the problem of a viable political structure for a totalitarian society. Part of its solution (common indeed to all successful totalitarianisms) is a pyramidal political system with the Leader at the apex. Naturally he must have associates: bare one-man rule in a complex society is illusory. But the lines of authority, the chain of command, constitute an ordered, singly-pointed heirarchy.

Take away the Commander-in-Chief and an army cannot function properly, unless there has been a clear understanding as to who was Deputy or an agreed mode of replacement. There is neither in the Soviet Union. When the Chief died, the mechanics of the system were disrupted. There was no longer a way to reach, and fix, a univocal decision. A "committee" can rule successfully only in a system organized in committee terms. In the Soviet system, which is not so organized, there is no way to settle finally the differences among individual committee members.

Essentially, the Communist leaders are in the predicament of a rider whose horse has begun to act up after a moment's inattention. Will they regain full control by jerking up tight, or by giving more rein? It's a tough choice. Either way the rider may get thrown. And it's tougher when a dozen men, no one of whom acknowledges the priority of any other, have got to agree on the decision.

Be it noted that all my comments herein have been concerned solely with the Soviet Empire's internal affairs. There is no sign that the Hard-Soft division, or any other, extends to external policy. On that there is agreement. There is not much point in opposing a record of triumphant success.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Friends of the Public Schools

The educationist hierarchy and the bureaucracy of the National Education Association coined a new devil-term a few years ago: "Bestorite." A wicked Bestorite is an Enemy of the Public Schools, a person who adheres to the heretical view of Professor Arthur Bestor that schools are primarily places for training intellects, and that intellects need to be trained in a democracy. It has been the pious hope of all loyal bureaucrats of NEA that the Bestorites might be bound hand and foot and cast into the outer darkness. But this world is full of pitfalls for the righteous; and lo, the Bestorites have multiplied and waxed fat, and now their name is legion. Or, rather, the name of their legion is the Council for Basic Education, incorporated last July.

The president of this new Council is none other than the arch-fiend himself, Arthur Bestor, professor of history at the University of Illinois (at present Harmsworth Professor of American History at Oxford, by the way); and the Bestorian Heresy is subscribed to by other Adullamites scarcely less malign: Canon Bernard Iddings Bell, author of *Crisis in Education;* Professor Harold L. Clapp (executive secretary of the Council), whose article "The Stranglehold on Education" brought forth this whole distressing Bestorian business; Mr. Mortimer Smith, author of *And Madly Teach* and *The Diminished Mind;* Mr. Howard Whitman, who wrote the articles on public schools which were published in *Collier's* until the NEA contrived to give the quietus to *that* vexation; and so many more—so many more! It is infinitely dismaying to anyone who trusted that the Holy Writ of William Heard Kilpatrick would be preached inviolate until Judgment Day. Why, it may even be difficult to smear this Council: its members are so well known, and their political beliefs are so various. Samuel Flagg Bemis, and Malcolm Cowley, and Mortimer Graves, and Louis M. Hacker, and Carlton J. H. Hayes, and W. E. Hocking, and Joseph Wood Krutch, and Allan Nevins, and Henri Peyre, and Mark Van Doren, and Harry G. Wheat: Enemies of the Public Schools, no doubt, one and all—but so confoundedly influential. One would think that the NEA had sown dragons' teeth, the way august names pop up on the list of charter members of the Council for Basic Education.

Once upon a time, schismatics of this stamp could be kept under by a little thunder on the educational left. After all, the NEA has plenty of money, and an elaborate publicity-apparatus; it is perhaps the most powerful lobby in Washington. But these rascals somehow have got their fingers on a little foundation-money, and actually expect to invite the public to join their silly Council, and to collect *dues*. What right does any upstart Council have to collect dues?

Worse still, the Council has had the effrontery to draw up a plan of action. The very beginning sentence is an affront to every right-thinking Life-Adjustment communicant: "Believing that the purpose of education is the harmonious development of the mind, the will, and the conscience of each individual so that he may use to the full his intrinsic powers and shoulder the responsibilities of good citizenship, we establish this Council for Basic Education." *Conscience?* In the public schools? Why, these fellows are out-and-out moral reactionaries.

And the first article in their platform—oh, the pity of it! "That all students without exception receive adequate instruction in the basic intellectual disciplines, especially English, mathematics, science, history, and foreign languages." If the rascals begin thus, where will they end? Well, actually, with Article 6 in this statement of purpose: "That school administrators are encouraged and supported in resisting pressures to divert school time to activities of minor educational significance, to curricula overemphasizing social adjustment at the expense of intellectual discipline, and to programs that call upon the school to assume responsibilities properly belonging to the home, to religious bodies, and to other agencies." Not one word about Meaningful Experiences and Adjustment to the Group!

The pestiferous Council will issue a newsletter; will arrange conferences; will sponsor investigations into teacher certification and college entrance requirements and the like; will arrange for schemes to improve school curricula; will invite the scholarly associations to have a part in all this; will help school boards with their problems; will usurp, in short, all sorts of functions which the NEA and its affiliates long ago clasped fondly to their bosom. Error is piled upon error, indignity upon indignity. Just listen to this: "The position of the Council is that American students of high ability are entitled to educational opportunity equal to that offered the ablest in other lands." They go so far as to speak of special treatment of specially gifted students—as if we hadn't been trying these many years to teach that one student is as good as another. Individuality, Competition, Privilege, Intellectual Aristocracy: all these vices rear their nasty heads.

The Council is building a mailing-list, and has permanent offices (208 Union Trust Building, Washington 5, D.C.), and welcomes visitors. Before we know it, they may be inciting the public-school teachers to mutiny against the doctors of education—which, of course, would mean the return of Chaos and Old Night. And we thought it was so thoroughly accepted that a school system is democratic only so long as it is nicely under the thumb of the officers of NEA! Up, Friends of the Public Schools, and smite these our Enemies. Gird well your loins, priests at the shrine of Dewey, Counts, and Kilpatrick, for you have now to do with men of war.

But that Council for Basic Education is so devilishly respectable. Almost they do persuade me to be a Bestorite.

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Principles and Heresies

FRANK S. MEYER

The New Moderation

Moderation is the vogue of the hour. Arthur Larson and all the New Republicans intone its praises, and the New Stevenson agrees. It has even produced the New Nixon—and what bids fair, at this writing, to become the dullest and most meaningless Presidential campaign of all the forty-three the Republic has seen.

But the election campaign is only the most immediate of the spheres of human action and thought in which the spreading fungus of "moderation" is dampening the joy of nations and ossifying the intellect. In the phantasmagoric world of "mass communications," where controversy would seem to be essential if freedom is to survive, the really damning judgment upon a man is that he is "controversial." A pro-Communist is not condemned, and he should be, because he is a pro-Communist, but because he is "controversial." By the same token, a firm anti-Communist is also "controversial"; that he fights for good against evil, that he is an enemy of the truth, is unimportant. All that matters is that nothing shall be said that might disturb anyone's complacency. To take truth and principle seriously, to insist that some things are right and other things are wrong, is to be an "extremist"; and extremists are not only upsetting to complacency, they are by definition evil when moderation is the good.

Why Get Excited?

The scene is the same in the scholarly world. From the Milan Conference of the Congress for Cultural Freedom to the maiden book review by the newest arrival in the scholarly journals, everything breathes of moderation. And why not? Since truth is only relative, and good no more than the prevailing custom of the tribe, what is the use of getting excited about differences of opinion? There is nothing so important that it cannot be handled with a little common sense, good will, and acommodation. Besides, the big bad hydrogen bomb is threatening in the background; and if anybody makes too much of a fuss about good or truth or principle, it might get angry, and go off. And, as everyone in our enlightened age knows, nothing, nothing at all, is more important than sheer survival. It is better to live on your knees than to die on your feet.

Now that the scientific method has been applied to the problems of philosophy and ethics, we know that principles and firm beliefs are superstitious hangovers from the Dark Ages or rationalizations of the unpublishable yearnings of the id: only the instrumental is "meaningful." There is, of course, no point in taking seriously anything that isn't meaningful. But, since only the instrumental is meaningful, and since the instrumental changes like a chameleon with each moment of the changing situation, *it* can't be taken too seriously either. So the sensible man will take no idea, no position, seriously enough to risk anything for it; moderation will be his watchword.

A New God-Term

Thus was developed the new god-term which has descended upon us in the last couple of years. Here, as in so many other cases, it is in the intellectual world that the source and fount of prevailing attitudes is to be found. What begins in the cloister ends in the public arena. We have become so moderate that the school child who would emulate famous men rather than adjust to his "peer group," is anxiously submitted to the psychiatric counselor as dangerously abnormal. And the baseball player who throws his bat on the ground in disgust at an umpire's decision is heaved out of the game as a threat to baseball's public relations in an era of television and moderation.

Actually, of course, what is being inculcated as moderation is an ideology of nihilistic relativism that has little relation to the true meaning of the word. Moderation, as it has been understood in the philosophical tradition of the West, implies something very different from this contempt for value. It has meant the rational and prudential control of the passions and the will so that the ends of truth and good might be more clearly seen, and action more evenly directed towards them. Moderation in this traditional sense has a close relation to Aristotle's doctrine of virtue as a mean between the vices of excess and the vices of defect.

Surrender

This is a far cry from the "moderation" that is preached to us today, which knows neither virtue nor vice and condemns principle in the name of the instrumental, of "what works." The Aristotelian doctrine of the mean, for example, denominates courage as a virtue—the mean between rashness, the vice of excess, and cowardice, the vice of defect. But our disciples of moderation, the leaders of both parties, steadily and consistently exhibit both the vice of defect and the vice of excess. Charged with the foreign policy of a nation upon which the future of the world depends, in words they rashly promise or threaten whatever comes to mind; but in action, with unexampled cowardice, they retreat and retreat behind a smoke screen of platitudes, surrendering position after position to bluff and blackmail.

Moderation in its true meaning is a virtue in any man or any people. But what is being promulgated today under that name is not temperance of judgment and firmness of action. It is contempt for principle; it is blind refusal to face the real and compelling crisis of our affairs, domestic and foreign; it is cowardly fear of taking a position and standing by it with resolution. This is not moderation, but the surrender of human dignity. As a principle by which to live, it leads straight to moral and spiritual suicide.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

Blind Man's Buff

WILLMOORE KENDALL

Arnold Toynbee's new book (*An Historian's Approach to Religion:* Oxford University Press, $5.00) offers us 1) a history of man's worshippings, 2) an explanation of the great turning-points in that history, 3) an analysis of man's present politico-religious predicament, 4) a prediction as to how man will extricate himself from that predicament, and 5) a long-run solution to man's religious problem, one aspect of which is a religious "message" of sorts. It would, therefore, be a bargain even at twice its price; and Suburbia, which in books at least has a sharp eye for a bargain, will predictably buy and absorb it in vast quantities.

First, then, as to the history of man's "worshippings," or, in Toynbee's own phrase, man's "religions"—this term he uses broadly enough to cover everything, e.g., Nationalism and Technology, to which, consciously or unconsciously and with or without religious experience, man has ever subordinated himself. (Where I distinguish between "worshippings" and "religion," Toynbee distinguishes between "religions" and "higher religions.") Here, though specialists will pick quarrels with him on matters of detail (and will no doubt win most of the resulting arguments), Toynbee the professional historian is in his element. He has a carefully worked-out story to tell, and he brings to the telling of it the vast learning, the profound sense of drama, the sympathetic imaginativeness, and, above all, the rich gift of phrase that have marked all of his historical writings. Human societies and communities, he declares, have at different times and places worshipped one or another of "no more than three objects . . . namely, Nature, Man himself, and an Absolute Reality that is not either Nature or Man but is in them and at the same time beyond them."

Chronologically, the worship of Nature comes first; when it fails—and we shall see in a moment what it is for a worship to fail—"man is left with a spiritual vacuum which he is impelled to fill; and he is then confronted with the choice of substituting for [it] . . . either a worship of himself or an approach to Absolute Reality, through the worship of God or quest for Brahma or for Nirvana." He chooses now the one of these two, now the other, and now—because he can always turn back to Nature—neither of them, and so he creates a "drama that, in our time, is not yet in its last act"; we can perhaps "make out the elements of the plot, but we do not yet know the dénouement."

The historian's task thus becomes, in the first instance, that of teasing out of the available documents and placing in correct order the choices man has in fact made, through the ages, in this locality or that one. And only the most erudite reader, I think, will fail to learn much from this phase of Mr. Toynbee's book; had he limited himself to this phase, indeed, the book would probably have done a little good in Suburbia, and no harm at all.

Mr. Toynbee does not, however, offer a mere record; he has, rather, invented an apparatus for explaining man's choices among objects of worship which, if I read him correctly, amounts to something like this: Man, in any place or any time, keeps on worshipping that one of the three objects he has elected to worship, until the consequences of his doing so become "intolerable," at which moment he turns to that alternative whose predictable consequences seem most attractive. The first form of "man-worship," which Toynbee calls the "idolization of the parochial community," endures until the "blood-tax exacted by the waging of ever more intensive, ferocious and devastating warfare has come palpably to outweigh any cultural and spiritual benefits that the contending parochial states may once have conferred on their citizens." The latter then turn either (as, for example, with the Roman Empire) to idolization of a universal community, under whose "all-embracing eyes" mankind can look forward to "living in peace and concord as a single family," or (as, for example, with Greece) to idolization of the self-sufficient philosopher. These alternatives having failed, the stage is set for the appearance of the "higher religions"—which, however, lead on to fanaticism, to religious wars, and to a new intolerableness, so that, in the modern period in the West, man has embraced two new forms of man-worship, namely, Nationalism and Technology, whose consequences are today on the point of becoming unbearable.

Recognizably, this is merely the psychoanalytic theory of individual religious experience, the notion that the individual believes in his religion not because it is true, which of course it isn't, but because he needs it, or feels more secure with it than without it, kicked up to the cosmic level—and, I should have thought, no better after the kicking up than before it. Religious teachings, in a word, arise because men require them, and take the shape men require them to have; they are to be judged not according as they approximate to the Truth, or lead in fact to salvation and eternal happiness, but according as they put man on the spot or get him off it. Mr. Toynbee writes eloquently about Absolute Reality, about Suffering and Love, about the dangers of self-centeredness; but his reason for valuing these things always turns out to be this-worldly, a matter of whether they

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lead people to behave nicely, not kill each other off, and to find life bearable. This is to write about religion as a man born blind might write about color. For what we end up with, of course, is merely the cult of the bitch goddess of Success.

Mr. Toynbee's analysis of man's present politico-religious predicament, his prediction as to how man will extricate himself from it, and his religious "message" are pretty much what, in this context, we should expect. As the Machiavelli of *The Prince* was the prophet-planner of a united Italy, so the Toynbee of this book is the prophet-planner of the universal, one-religion, one-political-theory Liberal welfare state. The "control of atomic weapons," he writes, "is bound to be unified in the hands of some single authority sooner or later"; and we can "foresee that when world-government does come, the need for it will have become so desperate that Mankind will not only be ready to accept it even at the most exorbitantly high price in terms of loss of liberty, but will deify it and its human embodiments."

As Machiavelli proposed to rely, for the desired unification, upon Cesare Borgia, Toynbee proposes to rely upon something called a "discriminating liberalism," the essence of which appears to be a willingness on everyone's part to believe that the "missions of the higher religions are not competitive: they are complementary," that, stripped of their "non-essentials" (Mr. Toynbee takes a chapter to tell each of them what it must give up), they teach pretty much the same thing, and that, in any case, one of them is as good, or about as good, as another. The time, Toynbee thinks, "may come when the local heritages of the different historic nations, civilizations, and religions will have coalesced into a common heritage of the whole human family"—the sooner, one gathers, the better. And, meantime, the trick to learn, it seems, is that of somehow believing your own higher religion without disbelieving anybody else's; and those of us who refuse to learn it will merely be in the way.

What if our religion forbids us to learn it? Ah, but it can't. Because in doing so it would be insisting on a "non-essential."

American "J'Accuse"

Conquest of the American Mind, by Felix Wittmer. 352 pp. Boston: The Meador Press. $5.00

I have already told, in *Collectivism on the Campus,* the gallant and tragic story of Dr. Wittmer's adventures. His *Conquest of the American Mind* proves that Dr. Wittmer, though subjected to ordeal by "liberalism," is still as unrepentent as he is brilliant.

Conquest of the American Mind is aptly titled. It documents the overthrow of the remnants of the American mind by the conformists of collectivism — with accuracy, patience and incredibile detail. Dr. Wittmer's chapters do indeed "substantiate the claim that a pattern of collectivist subversion has definitely been established in America's intellectual life, especially in the fields of literature and education." He proves his *J'Accuse* by quoting text and line.

A major achievement is that Mr. Wittmer stands above anger (except once, in his "Open Letter to Kirtley Mather"). Always a gentleman, he regards his adversaries as misguided "men of good-will who have felt that the concept of the Founding Fathers no longer suits the conditions of our times." He regards their position as "a tragic error," but he opposes them with solid fact and cogent reason, instead of treading the grapes of wrath.

Dr. Wittmer covers many areas of the conquest of the American mind. He discusses "Progressive Education" with the perfection of an Apache skinning a rancher, as he discusses the platform clichés of Mrs. "I-don't-like-Whittaker-Chambers" Roosevelt, the unholy alliance of collectivism and the League of Women Voters, or the American Association of University Women, the pamphlets of the Foreign Policy Association, the weird indoctrinations with "liberalism" that pass for textbooks today. With the erudition of a French Encyclopedist —but with a loving faith in God and in the individual man of flesh and bone—he covers the field of intellectual infiltration. Here all radical conservatives can find documented information about the men, methods, moods of the enemy, and see in panorama the contemporary *trahison des clercs.* The book is a must for all soldiers of freedom—an arsenal of sanity.

I do not always agree. Such disagreements, however, are minor. My agreement is major. I salute not only Dr. Wittmer's accuracy, scholarship, reason; not only the vast area he covers; but even more his grace and skill. He brings in, as drama to bind his chapters, his own experiences as individualist fallen among "liberals" at the New Jersey State Teachers College, Montclair. And always, in the tang and glint and bloodstream of his words, he authenticates his thought with the final truth which art alone can give. One can really *read* his book.

E. MERRILL ROOT

Little Masterpiece

A History of Rome, prepared by Moses Hadas. 305 pp. New York: Doubleday & Company. 95¢

No one man has done so much in recent years to popularize the classics as Professor Hadas, whose numerous current books include concise histories of Greek and Latin literature and a delightful *Ancilla to Classical Reading.* In the present book he has, with great dexterity, assembled a continuous and compendious history of Rome from its legendary origins to the last glow of world empire under Justinian by translating excerpts from the major historians, supplementing them from other ancient writers and sources, and supplying (in italics) transitional paragraphs of his own.

It would, of course, be possible to object to some details. (*E.g.,* his initial statement, "Like the Hebrews, the Romans considered themselves an

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elect," would be less misleading if it read "Like the Americans." The Jugurthine War does not show the "incapacity and venality" of the Senate, but rather the woeful muddle that is produced whenever a nation's foreign policy is determined not by the permanent national interest but by the day-to-day expediencies of political parties striving to gain or to retain control of the state.) But the book as a whole is a little masterpiece of judicious selection and compression, and its value is not merely that of a popularization in a vernacular. Professor Hadas would do a great service to serious students of antiquity by producing a book of substantially the same content entirely in Latin.

REVILO OLIVER

The Deepest Problem

Language and the Pursuit of Truth, by John Wilson. 105 pp. New York; Cambridge University Press. $1.75

John Wilson, Housemaster at the King's School, Canterbury, declares in his preface: "This book is an attempt to do something new: to present semantics, which is the study of linguistic communication, to the general public." The attempt is hardly as novel as Mr. Wilson would seem to think, but his small volume is a lucid introduction to a subject that has commanded increasing attention in recent years. It will give its readers an inkling of what Wilbur Marshall Urban meant when, with only slight exaggeration, he said that "Language is the last and deepest problem of the philosophical mind."

Mr. Wilson distinguishes the various kinds of statements of which language is capable, and indicates the susceptibility of each kind to verification. His categories are: imperative or attitude statements (e.g., "I hate Communists!"), empirical statements, value statements, and metaphysical statements. These categories might reasonably be reduced from four to three, for all attitude statements are disguised value statements. But this is a minor point, and there is no doubt that even a brief study of Mr. Wilson's categories will encourage the reader to examine his own statements and those of others with a sharpened critical faculty.

BEN RAY REDMAN

REVIEWED IN BRIEF

Letter to a Generation, by Ralph E. Flanders. 116 pp. Boston: Beacon Press. $2.50

Senator Flanders, having exhausted Joe McCarthy as a means for attracting attention, is looking around for a new gimmick. His ghost-writers have dredged up a worn-out derelict that doesn't show much promise—the Grand Project. "We must devote our lives to the establishment of world-wide controlled disarmament . . . This is the 'Grand Project.' " It goes almost without saying that "for the sake of the immeasurable benefits of the Grand Project, we too should be willing to surrender a part of the sovereignty which our nation presently possesses and cherishes." J.B.

Beatrice Webb's Diaries, 1924-1932, edited and with an introduction by Margaret Cole. 327 pp. New York: Longmans, Green & Company. $6.00

This fourth installment of Beatrice Webb's autobiographical writing covers a period of considerable interest historically, including as it does the two Labor Governments of the twenties, the General Strike, and the formation of Ramsay MacDonald's National Government. Certainly few people had as close a view of these events as Mrs. Webb, and she writes of them with shrewdness and insight. If one allows for her solidly Fabian outlook and prejudices, one can learn a great deal from her observations. Her own personality and the aptness, often the sympathy, of her expression make the reading of her diaries a distinct pleasure. F.S.M.

Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East: A Documentary Record, 1914-1956, by J. C. Hurewitz. 427 pp. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company. $8.75

Professor Hurewitz here completes the work of an earlier companion volume that covered the years 1935-1914. He has assembled more than two hundred of the most important diplomatic and economic documents relating to the history of the Middle East. These are indispensable primary sources for an understanding of what has happened, and is happening, in a region now indissolubly fused to the world's and our own future. For anyone in government, business or the university who has a special interest in Middle Eastern affairs, these volumes are plainly essential. J.B.

The Philosophy of Epictetus, by John Bonforte. 160 pp. New York: Philosophical Library. $3.00

When Arrian had faithfully recorded in writing the more impressive discourses of his great teacher, Epictetus, he selected from his eight books (half of which are now lost) the passages which seemed to him most fundamental and thus produced the celebrated *Enchiridion.* Mr. Bonforte has made his own selection, and has thus produced a book longer and more representative than the *Enchiridion,* but less than a third as long as the extant half of the *Diatribae.* In innumerable details either he or the English translator on whom he had to rely have taken great liberties with the text, but in the passages which I have checked the essential thought of Epictetus is quite adequately expressed. The book is intended for readers who are first making the acquaintance of one of the greatest moralists of all time, and it will admirably serve that purpose. R.P.O.

The Setting Sun, by Osamu Dazai, translated by Donald Keene. 189 pp. New York: New Directions. $3.00

The protagonist, a divorced woman belonging to an aristocratic family ruined by the war, is "convinced that those people whom the world considers good and respects are all liars and fakes." From this she naturally progresses to the inference that "Man was born for love and revolution," and decides, "I would [*sic*] like to become dissolute myself." This ambition she realizes with the somewhat reluctant cooperation of a *parvenu* whose daubs have been acclaimed as a "new idiom" in modern painting. The novel is a penetrating study of the effect produced in Japan by egalitarianism, which the heroine's brother rightly identifies as the "obscene and loathsome . . . vengeance of the slave mentality." R.P.O.

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5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 11 months preceding the date shown above was: 18,000.

(Signed) Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.
Editor

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 28th day of September, 1956.

(Signed) Edna MacKenzie

(My commission expires March 31, 1958)

To the Editor

Latin America

"Bolivian Follies" by Willmoore Kendall [October 6] is outstanding, and impresses me as being very close to the facts. I spent a couple of years in the Amazon Valley in the early 1930's, and it does seem that there is an almost total lack of appreciation in this country for the fantastic difference in almost every field between North and South America . . . .

DR. ROBERT J. NEEDLES

St. Petersburg, Fla.

Controversy Continues

I have made some notes for a controversy on "Notes for a Controversy" by Ralph de Toledano [September 22].

Having no "anti-Jacobin cellar" to sulk in, I put them in the refrigerator . . . Today, "sobbing" amidst my "smattering of shibboleths" with my "pantheon" and "demonology" fighting each other, knowing that I am just a poor "frustrated" mortal with not a "tradition" I can call my own . . . I opened the refrigerator door to see if my notes had cooled off. I wept by the coca-cola bottles and realized once again that I had no "philosophical roots" . . . that I was, after all, a little old "opportunist" of a conservative.

I put my fingers to my "forehead" but there was "sprung" no "full-grown core of principle" therefrom—nary a sprout. I realized I could expect no more, being one of the "confused American" citizenry which calls itself "conservative," that group which is "caught up in contradictions." I would just have to bring myself to get hold of "those necessary disciplines which are immediate and eternal."

I thought fleetingly of the "Constitution" and "tradition," but Mr. de Toledano says our traditions have no "core," that our Constitution will not suffice for a "sole bastion." We've got to think up a better one than that.

The "natives" out here in Forest Hills did appear to have . . . felt a "stirring of the conservative spirit." I am quite sure we have the "bent," as we have on occasion been "articulate." I do hope when we feel the "surge" we will not be as "unmannered" and "unfocused" as was Mr. de Toledano in his article.

Forest Hills, N.Y. A CONSERVATIVE

The "New Conservatism"

Editorially you sneer at the idea of a "new conservatism," but I have found no attempt to translate that sneer into an argument . . . . In the economic field, "new conservatism" calls for a revision of the traditional liberal assumptions such as is most prominently sponsored by Wilhelm Roepke . . . . These economic problems raised by the "new conservatism" are very difficult, and admittedly everybody must be groping and tentative in this field. Not so with the general cultural reform demanded by the "new conservatism." Americans do not read books; the educated man is not socially respected as such; people are classed socially solely according to income; gross utilitarian valuations predominate . . . .

The "new conservatism"—following in the wake of Babbitt's "new humanism"—is a frontal attack on utilitarian materialism. The pseudo-Liberals have created the impression that conservatism equals adoption of such materialistic attitudes, while Liberalism means culture . . . . Does not NATIONAL REVIEW, at least editorially, tend to neglect the issue too blandly . . .?

These strictures being made, let me add that . . . whenever [NATIONAL REVIEW] arrives, I put aside all other reading until I have taken in every word of it. There *is* new spirit in it, a "new conservatism" in spite of your disclaimers. There are a few places in the world where words of wisdom are spoken; I try to listen in to such voices, wherever they appear, but not for many years have I found anything as articulate and powerful as your REVIEW . . . .

DR. FOLKE LEANDER

Norrkoping, Sweden

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